Message Text

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TAGS: PINT, ELAB, TD
SUBJECT: SHAH NAMED TO SUCCEED PANDAY AS LEADER OF THE
OPPOSITION

REF: PORT OF SPAIN 2338

1. SUMMARY. THE FIRST PHASE OF THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP STRUGGLE WITHIN THE UNITED LABOR FRONT (ULF) CAME TO AN END AUGUST 19 WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF RAFFIQUE SHAH TO REPLACE BASDEO PANDAY AS LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION. ALTHOUGH SHAH HAS WON THE IMMEDIATE BATTLE, IT IS FAR FROM CLEAR THAT HE CAN WIN THE WAR, SINCE PANDAY APPEARS TO RETAIN BROAD RANK-AND-FILE SUPPORT. BOTH FUNCTIONS APPARENTLY ARE AGREED NOW THA THE LEADERSHIP ISSUE ULTIMATELY MUST BE SETTLED BY A PARTY CONGRESS, WHICH IS EXPECTED TO TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR. WHICHEVER WAY THAT CONGRESS EVENTUALLY DECIDES, HOWEVER, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE ULF WILL BE WEAKENED, IN THE SHORT RUN AT LEAST, IN ITS ROLE AS TRINIDAD'S MAJOR OPPOSITION PARTY. END SUMMARY.

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2. FOLLOWING TEN DAYS OF INTENSIVE ACTIVITY BY THE WARRING PANDAY AND SHAH FACTIONS WITHIN THE ULF, RAFFIQUE SHAH WAS NAMED OFFICIALLY AUGUST 19 BY PRESIDENT ELLIS CLARKE TO TAKE OVER IMMEDIATELY AS LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION. CLARKE'S ACTION, WHICH FOLLOWED HIS RECEIPT OF LETTERS OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN PANDAY FROM 6 OF THE 10 ULF

REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT, ENDS PANDAY'S TERM AS LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION BUT APPARENTLY LEAVES UNDIMINISHED HIS POLITICAL BACKING FROM THE POWERFUL SUGAR-WORKERS' UNION AND SOME OTHE ULF SUPPORTERS. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES ARE THE RESULT IN PART OF PERSONALITIES AND IN PART OF IDEOLOGICAL DISAGREEMENTS, BUT LOCAL OBSERVERS ARE UNABLE TO GIVE THE PROPORTIONS FOR EACH ELEMENT

3. SINCE PANDAY'S DISMISSAL BY THE ULF CENTRAL COMMITTEE AUGUST 9 (SEE REFTEL), BOTH HE AND SHAH HAVE BEEN ACTIVELY COURTING THE PARTY'S MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS. WHILE IT IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS THE IMPACT OF SUCH EFFORTS, THE PUBLIC IMPRESSION AT LEAST HAS BEEN THAT PANDAY HAS RETAINED HIS OWN NATURAL CONSTITUENCY AND MADE SOME HEADWAY AMONG SHAH'S BACKERS, WHEREAS SHAH HIMSELF HAS HAD DIFFICULTIES IN EXPLAINING CONVINCINGLY PANDAY'S OUSTER. INDEED, SHAH HAS BEEN FORCED TO ACCEPT ONE IMPORTANT POINT THAT HIS RIVAL HAS BEEN MAKING SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE LEADERSHIP STRUGGLE, I.E., THAT ULTIMATELY A PARTY CONGRESS WILL HAVE TO DECIDE THE ISSUE. PRESENT INDICATIONS ARE THAT SUCH A CONGRESS, THE FIRST SINCE THE FORMATION OF THE ULF, WILL BE CONVENED BEFORE THE END OF 1977.

4. PRESS-COVERAGE OF THE PANDAY-SHAH STRUGGLE HAS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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APPEARED DAILY AND BEEN EXTENSIVE. BOTH FACTIONS HAVE KEPT TO THEIR BAVSIC POSITIONS THROUGHOUT (SEE REFTEL), WHILE ELABORATING ON THEM AND ESCALATING THE RHETORIC TO SOME EXTENT. WHILE THE LOCAL PRESS IS NOT NOTABLY PRO-ULF, EDITORIAL OPINION HAS LAMENTED THE PARTY SPLIT AS INEVITABLY LESSENING THE CHANCES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRINIDAD'S FIRST EFFECTIVE OPPOSITION PARTY SINCE INDPEENDENCE. HAVING IN MIND THAT PREVIOUS OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE HAD A RACIAL (EAST INDIAN) BASIS, A SECONDARY EDITORIAL THEME HAS BEEN THAT THE POWER STRUGGLE WILL UNDERMINE THE HOPES OF AFRICAN-INDIAN SOLIDARITY WHICH THE ULF HAD BEGUN TO FOSTER.

5. COMMENT. NOW THAT SHAH HAS ACHIEVED HIS IMMEDIATE GOAL OF OUSTING PANDAY AND TAKING OVER THE ULF LEADER-SHIP IN PARLIAMENT, IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY HOW MUCH HIS "VICTORY" WILL BE WORTH OR HOW LONG IT WILL LAST. IT IS CLEAR THAT PANDAY RETAINS WIDESPREAD SUPPORT AMONG THE PARTY'S RANK AND FILE, AND HE IS CONTINUING TO GIVE THEM HIS SIDE OF THE STORY IN WELL-PUBLICIZED PUBLIC MEETINGS. SHOULD SHAH SEEK TO PRESS HIS PRESENT TACTICAL ADVANTAGE TOO FAR, HE WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY RUN

THE RISK OF SHATTERING THE ULF, SOMETHING THAT BOTH HE AND PANDAY PROFESS TO BE SEEKING TO AVOID. IF THE LEADERSHIP ISSUE IS EVENTUALLY SETTLED BY A PARTY CONGRESS, AS APPEARS TO BE ACCEPTED BY BOTH FACTIONS NOW, IT IS FAR FROM CLEAR THAT SHAH WILL RETAIN HIS NEWLYWON POSITION. INDEED, THE BIG WINNER THUS FAR IS THE RULING PEOPLE'S NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

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